FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. VI. NO. 30. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, JUNE 10, 1900. WHOLE NO. 270.

FROM "THE EVE OF REVOLUTION."

Light, light, and light! to break and melt in sunder
All clouds and chains that in one bondage bind
Eyes, hands, and spirits, forged by fear and wonder
And sleek fierce fraud with hidden knife behind;
There goes no fire from heaven before their thunder,
Nor are the links not malleable that wind
Round the snared limbs and souls that ache thereunder:
The hands are mighty, were the head not blind.
Priest is the staff of king,
And chains and clouds one thing,
And fettered flesh with devastated mind.
Open thy soul to see,
Slave, and thy feet are free;
Thy bonds and thy beliefs are one in kind,
And of thy fears thine irons wrought
Hang weights upon thee fashioned out of thine own thought.

—Swinburne.

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THE MARTYRS OF MONTJUICH IN LONDON.

(Translated from Les Temps Nouveaux.)

Yesterday we attended one of the most touching reunions which have taken place since the existence of the International. The good and courageous Spanish companions who had been tortured at Montjuich, and later subjected at Ceuta to all the sufferings of the galleys—these devoted friends, whom we believed to be buried alive, were with us, in London, in the German Communist Club. They are all in as good health as is possible after these four terrible years, all full of courage and more devoted than ever to the Social Revolution, since they have known, by their own experience, how the bourgeois, the soldiers, and the priests treat the workers, when the latter rise in earnest.

It required the greatest effort not to burst into tears, when we saw these young faces full of energy and intelligence, and were told: "Here is Juan Olle. For five days, he was flogged by the executioners. Five days in succession, night and day, they compelled him with blows of a cudgel to walk in his cell, asking him who had thrown the bomb of Cambios Nuevos, until he fell exhausted on the floor." The tears came; and the heart was stirred to indignation, looking on this face full of good will and gentleness, made to love, and to be loved.

Here are Vilas, Vilella, Pons-Vilaplana. All three were condemned to death, all three were placed in the catafalque, to spend there the last day of their life. Was it not necessary that the inquisitors should report to the government scoundrels that they had discovered the maker of the bomb? So they selected Pons-Vilaplana. With his blouse, he might readily pass for a blacksmith. Hence, "You are surely the man," said the torturers, "who must have manufactured the instrument." At the last moment, however, his family made a final application to Madrid. They sent there his certificate from the school of arts and trades, awarded to him as a weaver. He had never been a blacksmith. At the shop where he worked, he had been overseer of the weavers. It was also proved that the two others, who were passing their last hours in the catafalque, had also never been workers in iron. They were mosaic-workers. Madrid was thrown into consternation over the scandel that might result from it; and the authorities hastily telegraphed: "Commute the punishment to twenty years of forced labor." So our comrades came forth from the catafalque. Pons and Vilella were overjoyed. As for Vilas, he had all the time kept his tranquil serenity. For himself, he had chosen his attitude. "You will pay dearly for this," he had said to the executioner.

Here are Mesa, Caiis, Sala, Melich and several others. They had passed three weeks in the dungeon, warned each day that the next day they would be sent to Number Zero, which means to the torture. Three weeks in this suspense! One of these had sharpened his wooden spoon with a piece of glass, to cut his own throat with the weapon, at the moment when he should be summoned to Zero. Another had prepared poisoned meat, to swallow at the same moment. The third had already swallowed the phosphorus from three boxes of matches, and for three days hung between life and death. All preferred immediate death to the torture under which they could not even name themselves authors of the attempt, like Ascheri, Molas, Alcina, Nas, Nogues, all shot for a similar confession. The fourth of this group had also made up his mind. Taking advantage of his herculean strength, he would spring at the throat of the first who should come to summon him to Zero; and they could never make him loosen his hold, except by piercing his heart with a bullet.

Among our comrades, we still missed Callis, on whom they had put the helmet, crushing the bones of his skull, drawing his lip down, mutilating his face and head. Under the pretext that he was involved in another affair, he was kept at the galleys; and it is only three days since the order was given to set him also at liberty.

We missed also Sunye and eleven others, for whom the Spanish government, to get them out of Europe, had paid their travelling expenses, as well as those of their families, as far as Mexico and Cuba. At this moment, they are on the way. They had undergone torture by fire and torture of the genital organs, and could show to the European doctors the result of the bourgeois inquisition.

"And Portas, the inquisitor in chief, is he still living?" asked the comrades, after these recitals. Yes, but he will end like that German judge, who condemned Reinsdorf, and became mad from doing so. Imagining himself the daily target for Anarchist attempts at assassination, he lost his reason as a result, and ended his career in an insane asylum. Portas prowls from town to town. Whenever he disappears from a place, the Spanish press prints in large letters: "Where is Portas? Look for Portas!" He is found at last, and pointed out to the inhabitants. Restaurants are emptied, at the moment of his entrance; hotel proprietors beg him to go away, since they have been warned. Every tobacconist and every coffee-house keeper is also warned. Nobody will buy anything from them,—they will be boycotted,—if they venture to sell anything whatever to Portas. He will end like a mad dog. For there can be no statute of limitation for his crimes. Humanity cries for vengeance against this man.

As for Marzo, the judge, he is already dead, crying in an access of rage during his death agony: "It is not I! I am not guilty of the tortures against the Anarchists!" The Furies pursued him to his last sigh.

"But this is the Inquisition which you are re-establishing!" said Tarrido del Mormol to him, on being warned that tomorrow he would go to Zero.

"Certainly, sir," replied Marzo. "Do you not see, then, that the Holy Inquisition is returning in Spain with gigantic strides?"

Yes, it is returning with gigantic strides.

But glory to our Spanish comrades, who do not let themselves be frightened by this perspective. During four years, they have not laid down their arms for a single day; they have harassed, stirred up everything; forced the indifferents of the bourgeoisie, of the press, of politics, to intervene; they have stirred up public opinion; they have converted,—they have threatened!—without relaxation. Ah! if the Russians had done as much—in Russia! Schluesselburg would be empty at this moment; and the arctic regions would not be peopled with exiles.

Glory to our Spanish companions for having led this campaign. It is to them that the men buried alive at Ceuta owe their return to life.

Glory still to the French, Belgian, English, American, and German comrades, who have known how to FORCE their indifferents—their literary men, their politicians, their publicists to intervene, and have inaugurated that campaign through the press, which has ended with success.

Glory, finally, to those of the Spanish people, who have sustained our comrades in this struggle, who have supported them by their efforts—and who, on learning that our martyrs were to be set at liberty, witnessed to them by a thousand little attentions their pleasure in knowing that they were soon to be free!—Peter Kropotkin.

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THE STREET CAR STRIKE IN ST. LOUIS, MO.

Such a strike is an unpleasant affair for all concerned or not concerned. The public considers the cause of the strikers as a just one; and sympathy is on the strikers' side, so much the more as the Street Car Company refuses to arbitrate. All scabs on the few cars running are armed and make good use of their weapons; while the strikers defend themselves with the ridiculous cry: "We are law-abiding citizens and opposed to force."

One company gave in and is doing splendid business. The result of the strike up to date is here in a nutshell: Killed 4; wounded by bullets 22; otherwise injured (estimated) 50; extra policemen sworn in 420; strikers still out (union's estimate) 3300; new employes deserted (union's estimate) 50.

This is the twentieth day of the strike, and the end is not yet visible. A federal restraining order is out against 50 persons named, and "all others." Marshal Bohle has asked for authority to swear in 100 deputies, which has not yet been granted. Cars are running today on only six of the 22 transit company lines.

May 30, 1900. CARL NOLD.

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At Boston, Mass.

Grand picnic of the International Workers' Educational Club, on Wednesday, July 4, 1900, at Baush's Grove, Westwood (West Dedham) opposite Western Suffolk Railway Car Stable. Vocal and instrumental entertainment. Music by Italian Libertarian Club. Singing by Danish and German Chorus. Dancing and all kinds of free games for adults and children. Refreshments on the grounds.

Admission ticket, 25 cents. This ticket entitles the holder to six refreshments.

Directions. Cars leave Forest Hill every 10 minutes for Dedham Square. There transfer to Medfield Car (yellow) which will take you to the grove, opposite Car Stable. The bicycle group will start from Forest Hill Station at 8 a. m.

The proceeds are to be divided between Free Society and Freiheit.

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For New York.

Comrade Maisel is collecting subscriptions for Free Society, and hopes that the comrades will assist by laying aside what is due to the paper, to be ready for him when he calls.

FREE SOCIETY.

FORMERLY "THE FIREBRAND."

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Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

CONCERNING FREE SOCIETY.

Many letters, containing criticisms and suggestions, find their way into the sanctum of Free Society. In crossing the continent, I have also heard many comments from the comrades in different cities. The Free Society group is earnest in its desire to make the paper a true representative of the best in Anarchism, and always welcomes suggestions from every source.

It must be borne in mind, however, that no policy of editing a paper can be made absolutely satisfactory to everybody. The tastes and opinions of comrades differ very widely. One thinks that Free Society forces the sex question too much to the front; while another complains that not enough attention is given to this important subject. One would devote the paper mainly to news of the movement; another to extended articles dealing with the Anarchist philosophy; another to crisp comment on public events. One would confine the columns of the paper to examples of the highest literary workmanship; another believes that every comrade should have a hearing. These are only a few of the contradictory suggestions, between which we are called on to choose.

What are we to do? We realize that Free Society is not a personal organ, but the champion of a great movement. As such, it belongs to the comrades as a whole; and its main aim must ever be the good of the propaganda. All lesser motives must be kept in abeyance. While we endeavor to conduct the paper on this basis, we ask to be met in the same spirit. Free Society may make mistakes. In our desire to furnish a free forum for all, we may sometimes publish matter which it would be better to omit. In our effort to keep the paper devoted to its main issue, we may omit matter which would interest many of our readers. These are errors of judgment. If you make them a pretext for withdrawing your support from the paper which is battling for your rights and the rights of the people, you make a grave mistake. It shows that you put personal feeling above the common cause. If Free Society displeases you in any way, let us hear directly from you in the spirit of kindly remonstrance and criticism; and we will endeavor to repair the error.

In considering the contents of Free Society, it must be borne in mind that our little paper has several tasks to perform.

First of all, it is designed for propaganda. Each week, many copies fall into the hands of those who are not Anarchists. We need to convince them of the fundamental character of our philosophy, and of its applicability to the social problems of our day. To this end, we solicit from all comrades well prepared articles on the principles of Anarchism, as well as refutation of the objections commonly met with.

Next, it is a paper for our own comrades, to bring them in touch with each other, and keeps them posted on the news of the movement. Hence we ask all to send us immediate word of such happenings in their vicinity as will be of interest to comrades.

As a champion of liberty, Free Society must deal with current events from an Anarchist standpoint, and expose the fallacies in the arguments of our opponents.

We must also offer an opportunity for the discussion of special topics connected with our general purpose, and for the consideration of all questions of tactics.

This is but a part of the field for such a paper as Free Society. We aim to make it all this, and more. Will you help us? We need support in all directions, as we have not the advantages of the capitalist press. Many subscriptions are far in arrears; while bills keep pouring in with undiminished regularity. The subscription rate is low; but if all were prompt in remitting, our task would be far easier. Look at the number on your wrapper, comrade; and see if this means you. Do not fail also to keep us posted as to the news from your city or town, for the benefit of all the comrades. Those able to write good propaganda articles will be able to help greatly by using their pens in behalf of the movement, and aiding us to raise Free Society to the very highest plane as a representative of the best Anarchist thought of the country. J.F.M.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

J. M. Jensen, Fryatt, Ark., would like to hear from comrades interested in colonizing in his section. He has 160 acres of land for a starter; and says that adjoining land can be had at $5 an acre.

B. Fay Mills, who is addressing immense audiences in Metropolitan Temple, San Francisco, said last Sunday evening in discussing social tactics: "The Anarhist has the noblest moral theory of them all. He believes that humanity is at heart so good that it needs no laws to restrain it . . . . I am an ultimate Anarchist, and an immediate Socialist." Mr. Mills is an earnest and forceful speaker. However much we may differ from certain points in his social philosophy, we must appreciate his breadth of view, and the sincerity of his convictions. An outgrowth of his meetings is "The Ethical Institute of San Francisco," which promises "to promote intellectual freedom, and to discuss present-day problems." While extreme radicalism, in our sense of the term, will hardly be found there, it is reasonably expected that the new society will show a progressive spirit, and will prove to be a long step forward for many who are not yet accessible to more advanced ideas.

Memorial Day has come and gone, with the customary adulation of the military spirit. Meantime the fruits of such education continue to darken every land. The profession of murder is still looked on as noble and uplifting; and the monstrous results are witnessed in the Philippine Islands and in South Africa. Assuredly patriotism is a cloak for many crimes. J. F. M.

Since S. T. Byington has stated that he is a Christian preacher, I have been asked whether a Christian can be an Anarchist. Never mind, comrades; so far the Christian Anarchist has not made his appearance in Free Society. Byington has repeatedly told us that he is not in favor of abolishing all laws; consequently he is not an Anarchist.

"All this talk about consistency is somewhat inconsistent in an Anarchist publication," says Comrade Southworth in last week's issue. He might as well have said that it is inconsistent for an Anarchist publication to talk about how to realize our ideal; at least it amounts to the same thing. I think the question of realization is as urgent as the discussion of fundamental principles, and I, for one, cannot see how we could deal with tactics without touching upon the question of consistency.

Neither would I like to see Comrade Southworth's advice, to criticize personal opinions only in our private correspondence, carried out. Our ideals are a matter of growth. As I am anxious to learn, I will always appreciate friendly criticisms that point out wrong premises or conclusions, whereby the rest of our readers also can learn. A. I.

ACROSS THE CONTINENT.

X.

SALT LAKE CITY TO HOME.

Salt Lake City is especially famous as being the home of Mormonism. While at the present day the Gentiles form a large share of its population, the evidences of the religion of the Saints are visible on every side. The great Temple and Tabernacle, with the lesser buildings around them, are the most conspicuous objects in the city. The statue of Brigham Young attracts immediate attention. Although Joseph Smith was the first Apostle, the "discoverer" of the book of Mormon, and the founder of the Church, his successor seems to have completely overshadowed him. There is more unique and fantastic arch tecture in Salt Lake City than in any other city I have seen.

Visitors are not admitted to the Temple; but the Tabernacle is open to all. It is an immense building, possessing such marvellous acoustic properties that I could hear a pin drop, although distant the entire length of the building. A great Mormon Conference was held here during my visit, the last session of which I attended. The Tabernacle was crowded, about fifteen thousand people being present. I listened to George Q. Cannon and other speakers, and was rewarded by hearing the most utter "slush" that I ever heard from human lips. How men and women can be imposed upon by such a dreary and self-contradictory sham as the Mormon religion, is actually beyond comprehension. But the religions of the world have always thriven on ignorance and blind obedience; and perhaps Mormonism is no worse than others. In appearance, Mormons are not conspicuously different from other people, though collectively they manage to give their city a peculiar flavor.

The city has not a very prosperous appearance. I know of no other of equal size in which so large a proportion of the people live in small shanties and single story dwellings. Its environs are full of attractions. The City River Canyon is a picturesque little gorge, close at hand; and grander canyons are only a few miles away. Cold, warm, and hot sulphur springs are common within a short distance, one or two being quite large, and much visited. The great Salt Lake is the leading attraction, about thirteen miles from the city. It is an immense inland sea, its waters so heavy with salt that it is impossible to sink.

I gave one public lecture in Salt Lake City, and also spoke, by invitation, before the Socialist Labor Party. It was the first thorough dose of Anarchism ever administered in that city, and had some effect in stimulating thought.

I left Salt Lake City by the Oregon Short Line, one of the worst of railroads for extortion, and for total disregard of the convenience of its passengers. One forgets these things, however, when the long sage-brush region is passed, and the glorious scenery of the Columbia River is reached. The western half of Washington and Oregon have made an impression on me unequalled by any other region. The stupendous majesty of the Rockies awakens awe and admiration; but the verdurous slopes of the Cascade region kindle enthusiasm and love. We are now in the region of magnificent foliage. Snowclad peaks are still seen; but their bases are surrounded by grand trees and a wealth of verdure. Scenes of beauty greet the eye on every hand. Even commercialism cannot disfigure landscapes of such transcendant loveliness. The climate is soft and delicious, and the air always fresh and pure. It is an ideal country for health. The people, too, are more liberal than in many other sections. I now cease to wonder why Washington is dotted with colonies. If experiments in a better way of living can succeed anywhere, here is the place.

After my long ride from Salt Lake City, I was glad to reach Tacoma. Having already pronounced Denver be the most beautiful city seen on my journey, I must class Tacoma a close second. It is not a great industrial centre; but as an ideal residence city, it would be hard to match it. My home here was in the boarding-house kept by our comrade Mrs. Wilson, 1927 E St., where comrade Tom Sneedy also lived. Between that and the hea'quarters of our two devoted comrades, G. Schwartz and Rosa Sullivay, 1542 Pacific Ave., most of my spare time in in the city was spent. It was a very pleasant visit; and I made some choice acquaintances.

One lecture had been arranged for; and that I gave the evening of the day following my arrival. The attendance was moderate; but considerable interest was manifested. Other lectures were given before the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth and the Theosophical Society.

A two day's trip to Seattle intervened in the course of my visit. Despite its beautiful situation, Seattle is to me one of the most distasteful cities I have seen. The commercial spirit is disgustingly rampant on every side. One feels constantly among thieves, and eager to get away. Nothing but greed seems to possess the minds of the people.

One meeting had been arranged; but the attendance was very small, consistingly mainly of comrades. Comrade Theo. Wiegand, 2203 First Ave., is the prin-

cipal worker. To him, the Anarchist propaganda is everything. He is emphatically a revolutionist; and has not much patience for the educational work which many of us deem the corner-stone of propaganda of today. I should differ from him in some points of tactics, but admire the zeal and devotion with which he gives his very life to the movement.

Next came the greatest pleasure of my entire trip, the privilege of a week's visit with the noble little Anarchist colony at Home. Two or three of the comrades from there were my companions on the delightful steamer ride over the calm, blue waters of Puget Sound, to the abode of the little pioneer group who are giving the world an object-lesson of the meaning of liberty.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

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CURRENT NEWS.

To secure the acceptance of only moral books, and of books worth having because of their literary or educational features, the librarian of the Public Library in Cleveland has appointed a committee of censors.—Press Despatch.

The above Socialistic measure is not a novelty. The Boston Public Library and many others have long assumed to dictate to the public what they should read, and to bar out radical literature as far as possible. Only a long suffering people would submit to such an impertinence.

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An effort is being made to secure the release, by executive pardon, of J. N. Lee, now confined in the federal prison at Fort Leavenworth, charged with having caused the deposit of certain alleged obscene matter in the mail. Petitions for the release of Mr. Lee can be forwarded to the office of The Freethought Ideal, Ottawa, Kans. Mr. Lee is said to be suffering from sciatic rheumatism, which trouble is believed to be greatly aggravated by his confinement in prison.—Lucifer.

I have previously commented on the case of Mr. Lee. He is a noble fellow, who sacrificed his own chance of liberty to shield a woman. In helping him, our readers will be serving the cause of true freedom. Let the petitions pour in.

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As the Socialists have made so much capital out of the alleged conversion to their party of Gabriele d'Annunzio, the famous Italian novelist, the following from Les Temps of Paris may curb their enthusiasm a little. It is an extract from a conversation with the great writer, reported by Romain Rolland.

Then he also comes to speak of his brief Socialistic evolution.

"Socialist?" said he, "don't you believe it. I am always the same. I am and remain an Individualist to the extremest consequence, a wild Individualist. It happened to me to step for a moment into the lion's den; but I was above all impelled to it through repulsion to the other parties. The tame Socialism is an absurdity in this country. In Italy, no other politics is possible any longer than destruction. All that exists at this moment is nothing. It is rottenness, death, which sets itself against life."

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The famous Chinatown of San Francisco is in a state of quarantine, on account of the supposed existence of the bubonic plague. Nine deaths in three months are ascribed by the Board of Health to this cause. Only Chinamen have caught the disease, and but few of them. Some of the precautions taken would be ludicrous, if it were not for the cruel hardships they have entailed on thousands of men and women.

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In another column, Comrade Nold comments briefly on the state of affaire in St. Louis. As usual, the daily press seizes every opportunity to make capital against the strikers, who are holding out with a grim patience. While our sympathies are always with the workers in their demands for fairer terms, we must always point out that these partial strikes, even if successful, do not touch the root of the matter. When the workingmen learn wisdom, they will prepare for the general strike against the wage system and the principle of authority.

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As usual, the European powers take advantage of the Chinese rebellion to form a territory-grabbing syndicate. Russia seems to be in the start so far, in this movement for "applied Christianity."

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It is said that McKinley intends to use $60,000 of the people's money to give a reception to the malodorous Otis, in return for his valuable services in suppressing free speech, cabling home reams of falsehoods, insolently abusing his power, and upholding the administration in its crusade aginst liberty. Robbery is too mild a term to apply to this misuse of the money squeezed out of the American people by compulsory taxation. It is, however, fully in line with the other acts of the imperialistic party. Honor to Otis! Aguinaldo may lack some of the ultra-refinement of western civilization. He may retain many remnants of the savage, and certain elements of dictatorship. Nevertheless, he is contending for the independence of his people; and the proudest Anglo-Saxon cannot afford to despise the heroism of such a man. I would rather be Aguinaldo, defeated and a fugitive, perhaps at this moment dead or bleeding from the wounds of American bullets, than the brutal Otis at the height of his triumph, feted and honored by the rulers of this nation. Better the beaten Filipino patriot, than the living time-server McKinley, ever hearing the groans of the dying and beholding the blanched faces of the dead, in the midst of his glory, and surrounded by a host of fawning sycophants.

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The plucky Boers resist to the last. I know how far they are behind the times in many things. I am aware of their religious bigotry, and of the marked imperfections in their own conception of liberty. None the less, I grieve that their effort to resist the onward moving imperial spirit should prove fruitless. England wins a victory devoid of honor; but her hour of retribution is yet to come.

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Mrs. Clemens of San Francisco has undertaken to minister to the quarantined Chinese, with a sincerity not shared by most of her fellow-religionists, as she herself speedily discovered. Here are her own words:

I expected when I went into Chinatown to find there workers of every Christian faith; but I found no one. Not a minister, not a missionary; and what, perhaps, was worse, the Christian missions were closed, and in some instances locked and bolted. I was surprised, and blushed for the Christian faith when I found such a condition of affairs. I thought it could not be that the missions were really closed; that they must be locked temporarily while the workers were away. So I asked some of the Chinese.

They laughed, and it was not a pleasant laugh. They told me that the missionaries were afraid of the plague and that they had all run away; that the missionaries were very anxious about the salvation of the Chinese as long as times were good, and they helped support the missions, but now that trouble and sickness had come, the missionaries had cleared out and left them to their fate.

Mrs. Clemens is too naive. The wonder is not that all the rest proved cowards; it is that even one of the modern Christians of today stuck to her post. And as usual, it was a woman!

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Mrs. Charles Clark of Oakland, Cal., is a virago who affords another beautiful illustration of the old marriage ideal. Because her husband dared to make the acquaintance of a young lady in East Oakland, and visit her occasionally, the Oakland termagant assumed that her "right" of exclusive possession was being infringed. Consequently she proceeded to the house of her supposed rival, and assaulted her brutally with a horsewhip. This was undoubtedly "a proof of her love for her husband;" but it is a poor kind of love that consists merely in the passion of ownership.

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A CREEDLESS ANARCHIST.

In the discussion of Anarchist methods and practice which has been going on in these columns, a great deal of valuable space has been wasted in personalities. This not only shows bad taste on the part of those who use such methods; but is also an indication of their inability to offer reasonable, unprejudiced argument. If my logic is not good, it ought to be an easy matter to show its weakness by better logic. But this has not been done. Every criticism of my position has been dictated by prejudice; no arguments having been offered to show why a lawyer cannot be a good Anarchist or why a good Anarchist cannot be a lawyer or serve on a jury, or why certain tactics (advocated by some of the leading Anarchists of the world) are not proper to use under special conditions. I had no object in raising this discussion except to obtain the views of intelligent comrades on questions which I consider of the greatest importance to our movement. However, I consider the space of Free Society far too valuable to waste in repetitions and mere personal reflections; and so far as I am concerned this article closes the discussion. Our papers should be devoted to teaching the well known principles of Anarchism and to holding up our ideal as a beacon light for those who show a disposition to get out of the old rute—the superstitions enveloping tho e twin evils, Church and State. Whatever attitude we may take against those monstrosities at the present time, let it be understood that our ultimate aim is to destroy both, and to spread broadcast those principles of liberty and solidarity upon which our movement is built.

It seems to me there is a class of Anarchists, who may be called orthodox in the strictest sense; and these assume to dictate the course of conduct and even the opinions of all others—a prerogative, by the way, which all orthodox believers have ever assumed. They are not willing that others should have the same liberty which they demand for themselves; at any rate they seem to question the right of others to do or say what they don't like. Such people are really to be pitied. They have not yet learned the rudiments of the philosophy which they profess to teach others.

For my part I long since discarded all creeds and dogmas. These are necessary to the upholders of existing institutions, and to rigid doctrines like State Socialism; but an Anarchist with a creed is something of an anomaly. I have long thought that Anarchism was a synonym for freedom—freedom to be a varietist or a monogamist in sex matters; freedom to be a wage-slave, a lawyer, or a juror, or a missionary to China. Freedom to believe or not to believe anything we like. Freedom to perform any act so long as we do not interfere with the liberty of other people. I still think so, notwithstanding the apparent grief of my friends over my heterodox opinions. Anarchism in the best sense is a churchless, creedless doctrine—the doctrine that everyone should mind their own business. It is impossible for an Anarchist to be what the world calls "consistent." I am what I am today. I may not be the same tomorrow, next week or next year. As an apostle of Freedom I reserve the right to change my views when I like and as often as I elect; and I consider any attempt by others to question or abridge that right an impertinence, whether they call themselves Anarchists or not. It is a direct invasion of my liberty, and no Anarchist who understands the basic principles of the philosophy will attempt it. The real Anarchist is known not by his professions, not by his condemnation of this or that person or measure, but (as Kropotkin shows in his "Anarchist Morality") by his disposition to treat others as he would like them to treat him under similar circumstances; or in other words, by his unwillingness to do an invasive act.

If any of my critics suppose that I have a disposition to lower the exalted standard of pure Anarchism they are grievously mistaken. Far from such a purpose I would, if it were possible, still further idealize it. Anarchism to me is the highest, the noblest philosophy that the mind of mortal man can conceive of; and I consider no sacrifice too great which will really advance our cause. I do not deprecate sacrifice; I only deprecate useless, illy-considered sacrifice. I have never counseled invasion. I do not practice it; and I would shun the invader of the liberty of other people just as readily if he called himself an Anarchist as if he were a Methodist. I have seen good Anarchists among the professional class as well as among the wage-workers. I have seen worthless people who called themselves Anarchists among professional agitators as well as among the dilettante reformers. The ability to make rabid speeches, in which wholesale denunciation plays the chief part, is no longer the test of devotion to Anarchism. While I do not think the enthusiasm or devotion among comrades has become less earnest or scarcer, I am glad to note that a more temperate, and therefore a more rational method of propaganda has come into vogue. Comrade Morton's recent agitation trip across the continent affords a good example of the better method. Whatever he may privately think, he does not publicly denounce all capitalists as thieves and murderers, all lawyers as rascals and all labor leaders as unscrupulous demagogues; and his broad tolerance adds very much to his efficiency as a public agitator.

Let us be as radical as we please, but let us be wise in our radicalism. It is not always necessary to proclaim our extremest views from the housetops. Our object is not to antagonize but to convret; and it is just as meritorious to convert a preacher or a politician as a wage-slave, and sometimes with greater benefit to the cause. In my opinion we cannot be too tolerant with fellow radicals. I have known much bitterness to grow out of unjust suspicions. It is far better to err on the side of toleration than on the side of intolerance. Finally, comrades, do not presume to dictate the conduct of non-invasive individuals. Anarchism, as a comrade recently said in this paper, is an "open gateway," and the road beyond is limitless, bounded only by the principle of doing to others as you would like them to treat you under similar circumstances.

WM. HOLMES.

270

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THE MOVEMENT IN LONDON.

In the "Observations and Suggestions" by Emma Goldman, which appeared in Free Society of April 22, there is a paragraph to which I take exception. It states that the movement in London is kept alive by Davies and Kelly. It may seem ungracious to say so after the kind things Emma has said about me; but it is true nevertheless when I say that she is entirely wrong in her conclusions regarding the English movement. It is not in a very flourishing state at present, but it certainly is not dead, nor is it kept alive by the comrades she mentions. There are a number of comrades here who work as hard as we, and some harder. Personally, I cannot compare my work with that of Marsh, Cantwell, Tcherkessoff and Kropotkin. There are others, whose names are unfamiliar to you, who are doing work quite as important as arranging a few meetings. The latter is all I can lay claim to. *

Emma Goldman suggests, in the same article, that, in case a delegate to the Congress cannot be sent from America, she and I will submit any of your suggestions or wishes to the Congress. She recommends me especially as an American. We disagree here again. It is impossible for one who has been away from America for over two years to lay claim to a sufficient knowledge of the movement there to interpret your wishes at the Congress. H. M. KELLY.

London, Eng., May 18, 1900.

* Although Comrade Davies has not been consulted previous to writing this, I feel certain that he agrees with me.
H. M. K.

THE FACTS IN THE CASE.

The facts do not sustain comrade L. M. Holmes in the assumption that, "If in the case of our poor, noble boys in Chicago, we had possessed two or three good lawyers who were also well-posted Anarchists, history might have been written differently since that time."

Has Lizzie M. Holmes forgotten that Gary stated that there was no precedent for the Anarchist case? Hence he established one, for the time being, to suit the class which he represented.

A. S. Trude, possibly the leading criminal lawyer, at that time in Chicago, had the following to say in an interview in a capitalist paper of this city, a few days after the verdict was rendered:

"What have I to say about the verdict? It was rendered in accordance with popular clamor; all the States attorney had to do was to prove to that jury that those were the men who have been making speeches on the Lake Front and around the city; and they would have rendered the verdict."

Would Comrade Holmes kindly state what earthly good "a well-posted Anarchist lawyer would be in such a court? If he were true to his principle, he might state that the purpose of Anarchism is to abolish courts, lawyers and judges; then the presiding judge might very pertinently inquire of him, why he is sustaining the very thing which he seeks to abolish? It seems to me this would leave our "well-posted lawyer" in a rather awkward position.

As regards the "two or three good lawyers," that was precisely what our comrades had. When the case was carried to the Supreme Court of this State, Lenord Wiveat, a leading criminal lawyer, was associate counsel. One of the best lawyers in this city told me that Black's brief to the Supreme Court was one of the best he had ever read. Yet this court sustained all of Gary's infamous rulings, and then reversed itself two years later, when the Cronin case was presented to it. Comrade Wm. Holmes, as a lawyer, knows that the Cronin case contained the identical points raised in the Anarchist case; yet the selfsame Supreme Court reversed the case, and sent it back to the lower court for a rehearing; and those accused of murdering Cronin, went scotfree; but they had not been making "speeches on the Lake Front and around the city." When the Anarchist case was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts was one the counsel. His reputation as a "good lawyer" was national.

No, Comrade Holmes, well-posted Anarchist lawyers could not have had any influence in having "history since that time written very differently." There was no law about the Anarchist case whatsoever; it was simply the anathema of the ruling class upon our devoted comrades.

Let us not make the mistake of furnishing a convenient loophole for the vile Gary and his crew to escape through, by assuming or intimating for one moment, that "two or three good lawyers," or "well-posted lawyers," could have saved our comrades: because *all* the facts are against the assertion. But rather let the foul judicial murder go down in history in all its bare hidiousness as a violation of every principle of justice. LUCY E. PARSONS.

The Letter-Box.

J. M. J., Fryatt, Ark.—Colonizing under existing conditions cannot solve the social problem, but may be valuable as an object lesson, and a means of propaganda. I consider the colony at Home a remarkable success, when we consider all the colonists have to contend with. Whether a colony can be made successful today along Communist lines, is an open question. Many experiments are now on foot, which cannot fail of being educational in their results. M. O. received. Thanks.

V. R, St. Louis, Mo.—Glad to receive criticisms and suggestions; but Free Society cannot publish first-class matter, unless the same is received by us. We intend to do our best to improve the paper from week to week; but we must have the assistance of comrades. Let us have an occasional article from you along the lines you have indicated.

Christianity Modified, Atlantic City.—Your stanzas contain some good ideas; but they are not poetry, lacking the imaginative power which is the chief requirement for a poet. Read Burns and Shelley. J. F. M.

A. G., City.—In a recent issue of the Truth Seeker you will find that not "all Freethinkers and sensible men uphold the law for the sake of improving the race." The editor, in criticizing an author, says: "A little philosophy would have taught him that people are not improved by law, but that it is always the law which is improved by the people." You will, of course, admit that the editor is a sensible man.

F. M. M., Adams, Minn.—Of course, proper education must precede freedom; but enlightenment without the courage to act has little value. Max Nordau very appropriately says: "The greatest evil of our times is the prevailing cowardice. We do not dare to assert our opinions, to bring our outward lives into harmony with our inward convictions; we believe it to be wordly policy to cling outwardly to relics of former ages, when at heart we are completely severed from them." And will there ever be relief, if we have not the courage to act according to our convictions, i. e. consistently? If so, how? I have asked this question before, but my opponents failed to answer it.

F. R., Sisson, Cala.—The reason why mysticism flourishes much more in this country and in England than in any other European country, is, I think, because natural philosophy is not taught in the public and elementary schools of both countries, and the result is that the people grope in the dark in regard to natural phenomena. A. I.

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